1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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relays of performers, the men dancing first, and then the women. Mr. Rich thus graphically describes the part taken by ladies in this national recreation:

"The music struck up again the voice of the singer, and a string of about thirty ladies advanced, hand-in-hand, with slow and graceful steps, resplendent with gold sequins and parti-coloured silks, and without even the pretext of a veil. This was really a beautiful sight, and quite novel to me, who had never in the East seen women, especially ladies, as all of these were, so freely mixing with the men without the slightest affectation of concealment. Even the Arab bédaweenes are more scrupulous.

"The line or string of ladies moved slowly and waringly round the endeavors, sometimes advancing a step towards the centre, sometimes retiring, balancing their bodies and heads in a very graceful manner. The time was soft and slow, and none of their movements were in the least abrupt or exaggerated. . . . . This exhibition lasted about half an hour. The music then ceased, and the ladies retired to their homes, first veiling themselves from head to foot, which seemed a rather superfluous precaution, as the crowd which was looking on at the dance far exceeded that which they were at any time likely to meet in the streets of Suleimanie."

The Kitebi, being nominally Moslems, the marriage contract is a verbal one, made in the presence of an imam. The bridegroom, accompanied by a number of his relatives and friends, comes to the house of the bride's father, and, after the festivities are concluded, takes her home with him on horseback. Sometimes a

1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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K 515 rupture of the bride is circulated, though she is in reality purchased by the presents sent at the time of betrothal. But although Moslems, the Kizzilbash are practically monogamists, and divorce, though permitted, is very rare among them. Their customary oath, "May I divorce my wife if I," &c., well illustrates their unwillingness to avail themselves of this privilege.

K 515 516 The Yezidi sect are, however, polygamists, and, like the Turks, may have three wives. Marriages with near relatives, and also with brothers- or sisters-in-law, are common among them, and no objection is made to divorce as with the Moslem Kizzilbash. Their weddings are performed by Sheikhs of their own creed, the preliminaries being usually settled by the friends of the contracting parties. The ceremony consists of a mutual public declaration in the presence of the priest, who pronounces a blessing on the couple, and it concludes with the bridegroom's giving to the Sheikh a loaf, and receiving in return one of consecrated bread, which he divides with the bride. It is said that, when pronouncing the marriage oath, the bridegroom stands in running water, signifying that he thus washes away the binding nature of the promise, and consequently renders its breach less sinful. The lower grades of the sacerdotal order, the *pîrs* and *dervish*, perform the marriage ceremony for the common people; but the services of the Sheikh Nâsir, or high priest, are sometimes secured by persons of consequence in the community.

K 749 A Kizzilash funeral, although it forms a striking

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

CHAPTER III.

KURDISH WOMEN: THEIR BELIEFS.

As Moslem beliefs generally will be described in relation to the Osmanli women, I shall not here discuss them, but merely remark that the Kurds have the reputation of being very indifferent followers of the Prophet. It is, indeed, a common saying that "A saint cannot come out of Kurdistan." They are careless and irregular in the performance of their devotions, and not at all inclined to keep the sacred fast of Ramazan so conscientiously as do their Osmanli neighbours. They object, for instance, to abstain from smoking between sunrise and sunset, and will indulge in a surpâtid at noonday. "The Prophet did not forbid tobacco," they argue; "how could he forbid a thing he had never heard of? Besides, what is smoke?—nothing, or next to nothing." The Turks do not, however, interfere in their religious affairs. Their mosques are served by imâms of their own race, Kurdish Mullahs expound to them the Moslem law, and their children are taught by Kurdish schoolmasters. But, notwithstanding this fact, the theologians are, as a class, owing to their reputation for sanctity and greed, highly unpopular among their heathen Kurds. To the latter they are,

[Page 137]

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

● 763 522 indeed, an unfailing object of satire, and their shortcomings in this respect especially form the subject of endless humorous stories, of which the following may serve as specimens:

The Greedy Mollah.[1]

539 791 Once upon a time a Mollah and two confidential persons were travelling together, when they came to a river. All undressed to swim across, the Mollah going first. As soon as they were in the water, the Mollah perceived four small jars, filled with butter, floating at a little distance. He reached the first and held it with his teeth, stretched out his right hand to seize another, and caught the third in his left, so that he succeeded in getting hold of three jars for himself. There remained but one, which was taken by his companions. But not content with three-fourths of the spoil, he called out to the others, "I swear by Allah that I will have my share in that jar too!"[2]

The Mollah takes at his Word.

They say that there was once in Kirshehir a Mollah named Ruzid, who greatly edified the Kirshi by his sermons and counsels. One day when he was preaching in the mosque, he said in his sermon, "O, Mussulman people, each of you who possesses two garments [577] ought, for the love of Allah, to give one of them to the poor; each of you who has two loaves ought, if

[578]

[1] Sakaz, *Recueil de Nouvelles et Récits Kurdes*, p. 18.

[2] This story has given rise to the Kirshehir proverb, "The two ordered three jars, and he was content, but would have the fourth."

[3] Sakaz, *Recueil*, &c., p. 18.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1888) 1891
MA11 Kard MA11

he would walk in the path of God, to give one to the wedded."

The wife of the Mollah happened to be passing the mosque at that moment, and hearing the words of her husband, she turned back and went home. The Mollah had two changes of garments, the one which went to the wash, and the other which he wore. His wife gave to the poor the one in reserve, and at the same time distributed to them half the provision of bread. When the Mollah came home in the evening, he said to his wife, "My clothes are soiled, bring me the others that I may change."

"But I gave away to-day your spare suit," replied his wife, "and distributed to the poor half the bread we had in the house."

Then the Mollah was very angry, and he said to his wife, "Why didst thou give away my clothes and my bread?"

"Because to-day," she replied, "when you were preaching in the mosque you exhorted all to divide their superfluous goods with the poor in order to walk in the path of God, and so what we were not using I gave to the beggars."

At these words the Mollah waxed very wroth, and he exclaimed, "Woman, my exhortations were for the congregation and not for myself. If I preach thus to the people, it is that they may give me the surplus of their clothes and their bread. You should not think of giving away my spare clothes and my children's bread. I preach in sum in my own interest, and thou —thou carriest out, at my expense, the counsel I give them."

the faithful. There are in Rowanduz some 18 houses and lands which belong in this category. The administration of such property is placed under a Ministry of Awqaf, and there is a Mamur in Erbil from this ministry to supervise the use of such bequests. Locally, the supervision is not charged to the qaza, but to the chief mulla (the religious leader of the community) who otherwise has no connection in government affairs.

Just as the legal ownership of land is important to the private citizen, its taxation is a primary concern of the government. Locally the collection is in the hands of the mudira, and the money transmitted through the qaimmaqam to Erbil. In taxation a distinction is made between agricultural lands and houses. Of the agricultural land, lalar-land is taxed a straight 15% of its value in terms of yearly yield. Ardiriy-land which has been built upon and cultivated is subject to 10%, while that which has not been built upon, but cultivated, pays 10%. Houses, without reference to the land on which they stand, are taxed 15% of the assessed value of their yearly rent. Shopkeepers and merchants pay a series of taxes, usually in the form of licenses. Neither personal property, including gold, jewelry, or currency, nor income are taxed in the Rowanduz district. As has been mentioned, waqf or "church" property is not taxed. These revenues must be paid in money, never in kind, although property may be seized for taxes in arrears. However, the chieftains in the countryside may

Indoors, in a private home, a person dressed in this 291
fashion may discard his turban, placing it on the seat beside him, wearing only his cap. In his own house, particularly during summer, the sash, jacket, and outer trousers are also removed. As far as headdress is concerned, few townsmen remain completely uncovered except when sleeping, and the cap is worn, with or without the turban, a large part of the day.

Several persons in the town wear the Arab style, a 177
dishdasha (colloquial Arabic of Iraq), a full-length caftan 291
of wool or cotton buttoned at the neck, and a single turban of a single scarf would flatly about the shoulders. Over the caftan is sometimes worn the 'aba or bisht, a loosely-fitting collarless mantle with short, full sleeves, woven in white wool mesh and decorated with a thicker border of gold and silver thread. The mullah or town priests always [793]
wear this garb. In contrast to Arab garments, the increasing in recent years of European cotton pajamas, obtained from the tailors or from Erbil, has been marked. These are worn over the undergarments and are for lounging rather than sleeping. Some of the youths wear them on the streets, and an older student in pajamas and a European cloth jacket is not an uncommon sight in a shorkhana. They are not, however, considered polite outdoor attire for persons of dignity. In winter the townsmen put on few unique items of clothing, unless they possess a European overcoat, and bundle up in additional shirts, vests, and

present, by dint of education and enterprise, may rise to the highest ministry in the state. However, those families already in the upper classes, through wealth and influence, tend to retain their hold. As far as intermarriage is concerned, mates are sought who are equal to or higher in status than the person in question. It has been said that there is only one definite cleavage, but there is also a very fine sense of equality in terms of relative wealth and rank. It is possible for a man of the upper class of this system to marry into the hereditary aristocracy, and for a chieftain to take a wife from among the daughters of some official or officer, but, insofar as the aristocratic rank is patrilineal, there is no danger to the proud lineages in question. On the whole, there seems to be far less stringency in matters of marriage in this system than in the first. A successful lawyer, for example, a peasant by birth, might marry the daughter of a minister, but the daughter of a chieftain was never wed a successful peasant.

It would be incorrect to assign the Hutu clergy, the nobility of the Tussities and the lower of the Bahima, to any particular horizon in the two systems, for they are to be found in almost all classes of society. They are literate, of course, inasmuch as it is necessary to be able to read the Quran, but there is some suspicion that a few have acquired chapter and verse by ear alone, without fully understanding the art of reading. An amazing [332]

story, widespread in the Middle East, tells of one 793
such illiterate approached by a peasant woman with a 523
letter, apparently bringing news of her husband on the [323]
pilgrimage to Mecca. "Should I rejoice or weep?" she
anxiously inquired of the mulla who was studying the
document intently. "Weep," he answered after a short [765]
time, and the woman tore her garments and went into
mourning, assuming her spouse to have died in the course
of his pious errand. Actually, however, the letter
announced the safe arrival of the man in question, a
message ordinarily causing the greatest rejoicing and
the preparation of a feast of welcome. When the pilgrim
returned, he was dismayed to find his house closed in
mourning, and asked the neighbors who gathered in great
excitement about him the identity of the deceased. "And
is greatest! you are dead, Hajji," they replied. The
matter was speedily explained by discussion, and the whole
party sought of the mulla some reason for his peculiar
reactions. "If I told the wife to rejoice," returned the
latter, "in the arrogance of her demonstrations of joy she
might have tempted the Lord to destroy her husband," and
all were satisfied with these words. There are both poor 793
and wealthy mullas, and they are able to marry according 582
to their status in this sense. The dervish, as a religious 792
mendicant, is always a man of the lowest class, but, as 795
one learned in esoteric lore, even persons of the highest
status are initiated into the mysteries of the dervish
orders. In Rowanduz one could find a dervish in a converted

reading, meditation, and conversation, and the chief mâlik or priest is usually found there. There is no furniture in this room and its floor is covered with carpets. Mattresses run along the sides on which visitors seat themselves cross-legged, and the interior wall contains niches which serve as shelves for a large number of tattered copies of the Quran and other devotional works, the only public library in the town. One must remove his shoes before entering this annex or the main room of the mosque. The latter room because of its large size, has four tree trunks stripped of their bark set up at four points around its center to serve as columns for the support of the roof, crotches of the trunks holding the heavier rafters. The walls are plastered and whitewashed, and the ceiling is unfinished. The floor is covered with a number of carpets and mats. In the center of the rear wall is a plain, painted niche, the mihrâb, which indicates the direction of prayer. To the right of this niche is the minbar, the "pulpit," in this case a crudely-made set of wide wooden steps, something like a short ladder, leading up the rear wall about three feet from the floor. At the hours of prayer the mâlik takes his place facing the mihrâb or niche, and those assembled in the mosque form ranks behind him and imitate his intonations and gestures. On Fridays, if a sermon is called for, the mâlik ascends one or two steps of the minbar, and stands facing the congregation to speak. This male room has no windows and the door is open. Outside there is a flight of stone steps leading to the roof from

whenever they feel inclined, but members of the government elite avoid them. The wives and daughters of wealthier households rarely visit the women's mosque, perhaps because in some matters the women are far less democratic than the men.

It is commonly said that Islam has no priesthood, but at least one author has written an entire volume to disprove this thesis.[1] The functions of the mullā in Rowanduz serve to support the latter view, for they are extremely similar to those of a Christian divine. The mullās in Rowanduz have no other occupation, and are supported by funds provided by the townspeople. They are responsible for the maintenance of the mosque and the administration of awqāf, bequests to the faith. They conduct the services in the mosque, and officiate at such ceremonies as the naming of a child, circumcision, betrothal, and death. They have certain judicial powers, as noted in connection with divorce. On the other hand, they are not formally ordained, nor are they subordinate to any higher authority, although they may, if they choose, be attentive to such figures as, say, the Shaykh of Islam in Egypt or the Mufti of Jerusalem. There were three mullās in Rowanduz in 1951, of whom the unofficial leader was Mullā 'Abd al-Karīm Ittwadi, in charge of the great mosque and the control of awqāf.

There is no standard pattern for achieving the priestly office. In Kurdish Iraq a youth who has shown

[1] Jomier, 1954.

this as a career simply starts to study with some mulla who already has a position, and, when judged to have shown proficiency, will begin to be supported by the mosque. Others may study at the mosque-schools in Baghdad, Damascus, or other cities, or even seek the famous Mosque of al-Azhar in Cairo. In the first case, the student can ultimately easier and replace his teacher, or the latter may find him a congregation of his own, for there is an exchange of information of this type between the religious leaders of a given locale. The training itself consists in reading the Quran and other devotional works, and committing the necessary prayers and formulae to memory. These tasks are by no means easy, and demand intellectual gifts above the average. The "best" mullas are those able to rehearse the entire Quran from memory, an exercise which requires almost a day. The Quran, it might be noted, is not recited in ordinary tones, but chanted, the voice rising and falling in various cadences. Because much of it is poetry, the tonal qualities of the words, the imagery they convey, and a dramatic and melodious delivery can elicit the strongest emotional response in listeners.

Mullas are drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of the commoners, and no one in Rowanduz could think of a case in which a member of the aristocracy had entered such a career. A given sheikhs, as his age and reputation for sanctity increase, becomes known as a shaikh (arabic, "old man"), a title which is sometimes hereditary, but does not

officiate in the mosque. Such persons are believed by the villagers to be able to cure illnesses and confer other blessings through some physical quality in their persons. The office of mulla is far from lucrative, although mosques are privately wealthy, and they are expected to be models of modest and frugal behavior. One cannot use obscenity in the presence of a mulla, and no one would think of inviting him to a drinking party. Most persons rise when a mulla enters the room, although the chieftains, if the mulla is a regular visitor, generally ignore this. The most respectful way of greeting such a person is to shake hands with him, and then kiss the palm of one's hand and place it over the heart. Mullas are not taught to celibacy, and the three in Rawanduz were married. The sons often follow their father's calling, as in the case of Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, whose father was Mulla As'ad Effendi. Of 'Abd al-Karim's family, which belongs to the wealthy commoner group, one brother was a landowner and his nephew a teacher. The mullas always wear garments in the Arab style, a single turban bound flat around a skullcap, a long cloth overcoat, and, in winter, a heavy-woven robe.

The mulla is assisted by a layman who fills the office of mu'azzin (from Arabic adhdhana, after which the call to prayer) in addition to his regular occupations. In Rawanduz this was one of the elder townsmen, a little man full of his own importance. The primary task of the mu'azzin is giving the calls to prayer, again, a chant,

from the roof of the mosque five times each day. The call to prayer is like the shahada, the "testimony" of faith, given in connection with naming the child, with the addition of one or two phrases. In addition, the mu'ezzin arranges minor matters related to the mosque, such as the distribution of flesh to the poor from a sacrifice for charity, but receives no compensation. The mosque also employed a servant who acted as a doorkeeper and was responsible for its cleanliness. The mulla himself, as noted in the section treating society, has a place in the highest ranks of the community, and is usually surrounded by a group of friends from among the townsmen, noted for their piety. Inasmuch as Hulla 'Abd al-Karim had a compelling personality, this following was an extensive and powerful segment of local society.

The mulla are responsible for religious education, however, although Islamic history is a part of the curriculum in the primary and intermediate schools, religion is not formally taught in any other place than the mosque. Some parents prefer this training to that of the government schools. The mulla hold classes throughout the year, but give particular emphasis to the summer when those children who have completed other courses with their secular education may, at the behest of their parents, take part. This course is almost solely concerned with reading and interpretation of the Quran, and thus entails, initially, the study of the Arabic language. The parents

from each household he serves. The status of the shepherd is rather low, and he is frequently a foreigner in the village. In point of fact, many of the field laborers are also of foreign origin, but they become more or less assimilated in the community, whereas the solitary occupation of the shepherd prevents or delays his complete assimilation. — In general, the sheep and goats used to be herded by the small boys of the village — sons of laborers — and the adult shepherd or herdsman is put in charge only of the large cattle.

The position as mullah (roughly equivalent to priest), regarded as an occupational category in the economic scale, is of minor importance in the small Kurdish villages, and is generally supplemented by farming. Other resident occupational statuses are rarely found.

The following is an example of the class composition of a small peasant village:

	households	persons
absentee landowner	—	—
peasant farmers (incl. one mullah)	25	123
laborers	5	22
shepherd	1	3
widows with no near kin	2	4
total	33	152

RELIGIOUS CATEGORIES

We have so far distinguished two main hierarchies, one governing the field of political organization, and related to a scale of administrative authority, the second governing the economic field, and related to a scale of wealth. A remaining group of named status positions, less clearly hierarchically organized, governs the religious field. These are the positions of Darwish, Sheikh, Seyyid, Mullah, and Hadji.

Darwishes. The darwish religious fraternities (*Tareqa*), in their form and function, most clearly a general trend in the Kurdish villager's interpretation of Islam, and how the religious field may be brought into relation with the power hierarchy in the village community.

The Kurdish emphasis on power is in direct conflict with Moslem

6 — Frederik Barth.

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

792. 559 The father of the present *Shaikh* is said to have used his influence with considerable effect — certainly, a very exhalted status is associated with the positions as Leader of Derwish, as far as the village population is concerned.

The individual derwish, on the other hand, has no recognized or defined status. The relative position of the derwish in the village community will be discussed more fully below, when it can be related to the other hierarchies of organization. Being largely recruited from the most underprivileged sections of the population, membership in the derwish group is often regarded as a badge of the lowest class. In face-to-face relations they are, on the other hand, afforded a certain respect, springing from an undeniable awe or fear of their strange powers.[1])

• [793] Where the service of a mullah is unobtainable, the local derwish tends to function in his place, by virtue of his assumed greater knowledge of religious ritual. Thus a derwish who is generally accepted as being knowledgable, may attain some status, but that primarily by virtue of his knowledge, and not qua derwish. Thus, the power obtainable through membership in the derwish brotherhood is mostly of a subjective and substitute kind. Their special powers are of a symbolic and expressive, not of an instrumental type. Strikingly, these special powers and strange feats are exhibited mostly in nearly exclusive derwish meetings, and are rarely directed outward, toward village spectators — though secrecy, on the other hand, is made no point of, and any one who wishes to be present may attend most

[1]) Something of the position of the derwish may most clearly be illustrated by a summary characterization of the derwishes with whom I came most into contact (not including those residing in the home village of the Leader of Derwish):
a) Highly eccentric, with considerable temper. Officiated at occasional funerals etc. Rainmaker. Reputed to be able to perforate cheeks and abdomen with spear.
b) Rather inconsequential. Sacrificed a sheep when his watch (unique in the village) started showing discrepancy with the sun — was ridiculed for this by fellow villagers.
c) and d) Quiet, ordinary serfs in appearance. Accused of scheming against Homeowned landlords.
e) Unintelligent brother of village headman. No special accomplishments.
f) Ordinary farmer. No special accomplishments.

792 554 holy books from which they can tell of the past and the future. They also sell good-luck charms, love-charms, charms against sickness, etc. Being residents of the larger towns, however, they only appear on the village scene as transients of rather low status.

Diagram No. 8. The scales and statuses of the religious field.

793 554 *The Mullah.* Whereas the position of a *Shaikh* depends upon his rating on the scales of sanctity and sacred powers, the position of the mullah is related to the scale of sanctity, and to a scale of learning and piety. High rating on the scale of sanctity springs directly from the office, while the degree of learning and piety depends upon the individual's behavior, and is consequently variable.

793 795 554 The position as mullah is a true status position, since it defines a place in an institutional hierarchy — that of the larger church organization — but since it is related also to the scale of piety, the actual relative status ascribed to specific mullahs in their villages may vary considerably. Thus again, the lack of development of the concept of an *office* has its effect; any separation of the individual's official and private capacity is impossible, and no clear definition of the status of the mullah, as divorced from the individual achievements of a specific mullah, is possible. The very weak regional organization of the church is in part responsible for this — indeed, it is

7: Barth E-S (1951) 1953 NA11 Kurd NA11

misleading to speak of an inclusive church organization in the sense one knows it in the West. The actual qualifications of individual mullahs vary tremendously, and financial arrangements for the support of the Mosque are, as far as village mosques are concerned, entirely in the hands of the local community. Yet traditionalism and informal controls give a certain unity and enforce certain limits on deviations from a vague norm.

The position as mullah is an achieved status with completely open recruitment. Successful application to the study of the Koran leads eventually to initiation. There is a tendency for *Sheikhs* and *Seyyids* to be over-represented, but this seems primarily due to a higher frequency of religious inclinations, resulting from their aristocratic bias in orientation. Frequently a dervish will be willing to support his son through some or all of the necessary years of reading and study, and thus achieve for the son what was beyond the reach of the father. At times, through an early interest in the teachings of the village mullah, a boy in a secularly oriented family will find his way into the religious field. A striking number of the students are blind, and depend in their studies on the help of their friends.

The traditional pattern is for the student to spend an unspecified number of years roaming from mosque to mosque, seeking out the teachers of high repute and remaining with each for whatever length of time he wishes (see Appendix III). In this period, as well as studying the Koran and the legal interpretation of the text, the student should become familiar with other religious writing, in Persian as well as in Arabic. Finally, when the student and whatever teacher he happens to be with at the time feels he is prepared, he is made to give a sermon, and after a ritual is given the white headdress of the mullah, as well as a diploma confirming his status.

During his studies, the future mullah is dependent on his family or on individual charity for his subsistence. Later, as a full-fledged mullah, he must make whatever arrangements he can. The positions in the mosques of the towns are now government supported, but in the village the office is supported by local resources only. The community expresses its wish to have a mullah and the extent of its ability to pay — generally by revenue on dedicated land and a

7: Earth E-S (1951) 1953 9011 Kurd 9011

• 783 §3 minimal tax pr. head in the village, payable at the end of the holy month of Ramadan. This frequently must be augmented by agricultural work on the part of the mullah. It seems that the villagers are free to appoint any unlearned mullah of their choice to office; once he is appointed, however, it is, at least in practice, impossible to dismiss him.

783 §§4 The actual role of the village mullah is evidently today in a state of rapid change, and considerably reduced as compared to Ottoman times. He has been relieved of a great number of his civil functions — e. g. marriages are not valid unless a license has been procured from the civil administration, and though the mullah still performs the ceremony, his importance is naturally reduced. The very dominant position as judge has also been greatly reduced by the secularization of the state and effective administration of Iraq's civil code.

[§5] A second role is that of the educator — the mullah will give rather ineffectual lessons in the Koran to the sons of important villagers — the only schooling they will ever have — and he may also have advanced students visiting him for a period. Except for spreading a certain knowledge of the religion, however, this school of the mullah's does not seem to be of any great consequence, and the mullah himself remains the only literate person in the village.

His main role at present parallels that of the priest in Western society, in that it is concerned predominantly with religious questions in a largely secular world. The mullah calls to morning and evening prayer, gives a sermon on Friday, is especially active in the holy month of Ramadan. In all his activities, he should set an example to his villagers. The weight given to his opinions thus depends on his learning and personal piety, but at the same time, if they are developed to any appreciable degree, these same traits will tend to separate him physically and emotionally from the community and place him in the position of a spectator.

Consequently, he does not achieve the power position in the village that one might have expected. The mullah with low rating on the scale of learning and piety will be disregarded by the villagers — they may not even attend his services, as in the case of one village studied, where the sermons had been largely discontinued and the

responsibility for religious education rests ever by the leader of the local Shaikh family. On the other hand, an intelligent mullah, though often formalistic and introvert in his orientation, may play a considerable part in improving the intellectual and moiety standard of the village (the subject of chess and matches having importance in a religious context), but does not seem to attempt to extend his influence any wider. His high intellectual standard and foreign values tend to alienate him from the query squabbles of the village; and an ambitious attitude has no real place in the grossly fatalistic Islamic world view. To the extent he does not convert his status and prestige into a de-facto power position, the mullah might be said not to be fully integrated into the social structure of the village. He is similarly in no sense an indispensable resident in the village community — very frequently, he is called in only for funerals, naming ceremonies etc., or these functions may even be performed by a local darwish or Shaikh. The pattern of training blind boys, necessarily marginal to village society, as mullahs, may in part be related to an appreciation of this marginal position which the mullah occupies.

Hadji. The *Hadji*, on the other hand, is an ordinary member of the village community. His position is related to the scale of piety, and derives simply from having completed a pilgrimage to Mecca. The title, however, is one of considerable respect — in part because it also implicitly indicates high rating on the scale of wealth.

The whole institution of the pilgrimage is the result of the command by the Prophet Mohammed, that any man who has the necessary means to make the pilgrimage *and* support his family at home, or whose family is able to support itself without him, should once in his lifetime journey to the holy city of Mecca. Thus the title of *Hadji* indicates (a) a pious eagerness to follow the command of Mohammed, and (b) moderately prosperous circumstances. One rarely finds more than 3—4 *Hadjis* in any one village; these will tend to be at least among the leading members of their community.

Formerly, the initiative was individual and the journey hazardous, often achieved by relatively greater physical exertion and low expense, and the title of *Hadji* was thus less of a symbol of wealth than at present.

[834]

which the head of the family has one, and may thus be of some importance. The main aggregations of women where such gossip is exchanged are found around the water-hole, where water for the house is fetched, and clothes washed and beaten. The actual visiting between women seems predominantly to be limited by kinship, most frequent are the daughter's visits to her mother. Such visiting is concentrated in the hours just before noon, when the men are occupied and there are no pressing household duties.

In everyday life, there are thus three types of larger groupings that provide a forum for factionalism and leadership: (a) the men of high prestige congregate in the modernized rooms, (b) the men of low prestige get together in an informal evening society, and (c) the women of the community meet and gossip by the village water-hole. None of these groupings, however, pretend to be representative of the community as a whole, and none of them are primarily integrative in their function.

RITUAL UNITY OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

Mosque. The complex status hierarchy of individuals in the village only emerges clearly, and the effective integration of the community is only achieved, through the truly communal village activities. These will tend to be of a more formal and ritual type, and are more or less closely related to religion. In the villages in which a mosque is found, the most obvious occasion is the Friday sermon. However, the position of the mullah varies considerably, as indicated above; and many village mullahs find it difficult to make the occasion truly communal, to induce their villagers to attend sermons at the mosque — often come home from the fields very tired, and would rather sit at home. Where a mullah of high prestige is found, he will manage to collect a considerable fraction of the village around him on such occasions, and by religious teaching raise the standard of the population, as measured on the scale of learning and piety. This in turn reflects on the village as a whole, the pressure to attend Friday sermons increases, and a unity and

the case of Sheikh Said and Sheikh Mahmud. Thus, while no one who is not a member of the lineage can achieve a position within the segmentary lineage system, the lineage group as a whole, or even a section of it, temporarily broken away from the remainder of the descent group, can join a larger confederacy under a charismatic leader.

In summary, one might say that there are no absolute impediments, or, inversely, necessary requirements, relating to leadership in any of the Southern Kurdish political systems; that persons theoretically may qualify for leadership by any combination of part-statuses, so long as they add up to a total status position sufficiently exhalted to correspond to, or identify, the political and other demands involved in leading the group in question.

INCOMPATIBILITY OF PART-STATUSES

Clearly, only ascribed status positions, based on sex and birth, could function as true impediments to leadership. Various achieved status positions may be incompatible with high political positions, but since such status positions can be changed, they are at most temporary impediments, and can better be discussed under the person leading.

Most of these incompatibilities have been suggested above. Of the part-statuses in the religious field, the mullah will tend to be rather separated from the general village community — he is frequently a tenant farmer, but rarely occupies any other part-status position, with the occasional exception of *Mullā*. Membership in a dervish brotherhood is clearly a badge of low class, and the dervish will not occupy any of the higher status positions. Conversely, the title of *Mullā* is a badge of high status, and is combined with any of the higher part-status positions, including that of the mullah. A woman can not be a mullah.

The hierarchy of class, as implied in the discussion, seems to divide the local community into separable categories that do not significantly overlap in terms of prestige or general position in the village and supra-village hierarchy.

In the earlier unusual setting of an archaeological excavation, the explorer Kudlo found himself working beside Lutit and Kudlut from Kuni Inuit, the explorer and master salesman of Pond. The protagonist arrives on his own, finding new material for a brief period of work in the area belonging to the village of Kuni Inuit. When operations were transferred to Tungak's territory, Kudlo chose he would not stand for it, and proceeded to arrange his failure. The men Lutit and Kudlut were summarily shrunk, and were, upon their request, immediately removed from the site, and a settlement with the group of workmen from Tungak was later achieved, with some difficulty.

Later, Pond, who being an outlaw had little to lose, attempted to intimidate the villagers of Tungak by a further murder (a woman murdered by Chuzzar and Kudlo), and by setting fire to their graveshelfs, in spite of the armed warrior the Tungakers had posted there. The people of Kuni Inuit, Pond's village, disavowed the fire, and disassociated themselves with the action by refusing to participate in war. Since the law, they are accused of emotionally leaving him to warm. Kudlo is still a strong boy, and has sworn to arrange his failure by killing Pond.

The essential points were as he (1) Kudlo's revenge was transferred to the explorer of his father's murderer only because the murderer himself was out of reach, and because Kudlo, due to unprecedented circumstances, found himself working beside the explorer on the land of his own village — all a strong implied insult to his honor. (2) Kudlo did not receive active support in arranging his failure, even though the father was, at the time of the murder, the Angakok of Tungak village. (3) The village of Kuni Inuit was able to disassociate itself from the war of Pond — possibly because he did not belong to the social lineage group of that village.

These points would indicate that an ideological pattern of blood feud, as defined in the case body of the text, is operative, and where patterns superficially similar to blood feud are found, these may better be explained as a slight extension of a strong pattern of individual revenge, or, in certain cases, a struggle between two lineages for political supremacy.

APPENDIX III: The education of a medicine

The scholastic standards of the Iwaa village medicine might be exemplified by a listing of the courses and course of study of Medicine Inuit Mahoneyuk, now of the village of Tigvikuan. He was born in Shaktoolik, and grew up in the village of Tapakvaakuna on the Unalakleet valley between Ishkowak and Chuckwalk. His religious traditions in the family, his ancestry were stimulated by the older medicine brothers of an ephemeral. After hearing Shaktoolik reading the Koran at the age of 9, and then forgotten it again, he decided to become a medicine at the age of 12. He finished the Koran again at 14, under the direction of his village medicine. He then travelled to Ishkowak, and studied

• 793 [illegible]
1 man with Sheikh Mohammed Bilal, now a religious judge,
1 man with Abdullah Chirwano, teacher in Qandu mosque in Sukumani,
2 o o Aziz Effendi, religious judge,
1 o o Hassan Pakenani,
1 o o Sheikh Baba Ali,
1 o o Sheikh Nuri, son of Baba Ali,
1 o o Hassan Said,
enrolled in Wanumoro near Nidaliya, studied
2 o o Abdul Kader Said,
enrolled in Bura, in the Hassanani mountains, studied
½ o o Abdul Karim,
enrolled in Nidaliya, studied
¼ o o Sheikh Ismail,
enrolled in Calala in the Pudalia mountains, studied
1 o o Hadji Mohammed Bala,
Surumal in Sukumani, studied
½ o o Sheikh Omar in Qandu mosque,
returned to Nidaliya, studied
½ o o Mullah Omar in Qandu mosque,
Education completed A. H. 1369 (A. D. 1951), certificate issued by Sheikh Baba Ismail and Mullah Abdul Kader after 11 years of wandering and studies.

of
of expensive games. The scale of entertainment naturally varies
greatly with the status of the immensely superior the death of a male is
is rarely more for more serious than the death of a female. So far as I
am aware the occupation, conservation is similar to the case of
common fraction though on a smaller scale.*

The Bells

The Bells has the part to play in the ritual both on occasions
of marriage and death, and quite some appropriate remark.
In the marriage ritual is on the bridals. Subsequent negotiations
require that marriages must be registered with the police, and the
marriage in legal at least any religious ceremony. The tendency is
therefore to give precedence to the police rather than the Bells.

* The above remarks do not apply at all to named fathers. I was
told that among the Sakai the whole ceremonial is concluded in one day.
The procedure was said to contain much ritual of non-Muslim type.

9: Leach S-S (1938) 1940 WAII Kuard WAII
Kawanchis

36

771 All that I can do therefore is to describe in superficial terms
• 778 the social position of the Naiu in the Kawanchis as village priests, and give some descriptions of the ranges on the visible evidences of the religious life of the community. I cannot make any attempt to examine beliefs or ritual positions in detail.

The Naiu

773 Most of the larger villages have a resident Naiu. The functions and social position of this individual are by no means easy to define. His accomplishments are a supposed ability to read and write the Arabic language and an exhaustive knowledge of the Koran. This mental equipment is acquired during a long period of training as a student, during which time he is permitted upon the village to which he is given, begging his keep and avoiding all outdoor manual labour. Most Naiu have one or two such pupils, some may have a dozen or more. They are not usually members of the local kinship groups, but individuals who through some mental misadjustment have left their own group and are then without normal means of support. The student must I believe achieve a certain standard before he "graduates" as a Naiu, but how this is defined in not clear, it certainly cannot be very high. The intellectual attainments of the Naiu vary very greatly. Some have a real understanding of Arabic and Persian and of the written literature of these two languages; others merely learn the Koran by rote and recite portions of it as ritualic exercises without any clear understanding of the meaning. Knowledge of the Koran does not even necessarily imply an ability to read - the Naiu student is taught one quite blind but can [Dx1] gradually memorising the whole book. In general however the Naiu may be regarded as the most sophisticated member of the community. Some of the ordinary commoners are literate; most of the Agha would claim the distinction but I doubt their ability - all Agha of Bayat the instance called in the Naiu both to read and write his letters, and Hamid Amin of Jangalo though he could certainly read was constantly [illegible]. In earlier times one of the Naiu's duties to function as to write out general secretary to the Agha; conditions in this respect are changing rapidly owing to the fact that most Agha sons are now quite well educated. Apart from such personal services to the Agha the Naiu's services to the community are roughly those of village priest. He leads the prayers in the mosque, and on the Sabbath [illegible] supplements this with a brief sermon in Arabic, which is entirely unintelligible to his audience. He officiates at weddings and funerals [Dx4] and recites suitable verses from the Koran. It was hinted further that he is frequently called in to cure sickness - chiefly by means of prayers and charms and amulets. I have no information at all as to the magical procedure involved, but the wide distribution of amulets and formula charms, especially among the women and the smaller children suggests that there is a field here for investigation.

In return for these services he receives from the Agha a

Gr Leech S-S (1928) 1940 WAII Hand WAII
Nowandiss

[illegible] 703 •

[illegible] 703 SSW 631

[illegible] 708

[illegible] 542

B: Leach B-5 (1938) 1940 WAII Hard WAII
Newsmilist

[opposite page 34 - A]